DEFFENDALL

The Masque with special

Reference to the Tempest

English

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THE MASQUE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TEMPEST

BY

PRENTICE HOOVER DEFFENDALL

A. B. De Pauw University, 1906

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

Prentiss N. Deffendall

ENTITLED The Masque with Special Reference to "The Tempest"

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF Master of Arts.

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THESIS

THE MASQUE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TEMPEST.

BY

PRENTICE H. DEFFENDALL

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Introduction.

The present study is an attempt to show that the spectacular part of "The Tempest"is not incidental, but the central interest of a court play constructed as the framework of a masque; that this masque is regular and typical in action, material, and structure; and that it was designed to celebrate the betrothal of the Princess Elizabeth and the Elector and altered for their marriage. A knowledge of the history and development of the masque and its relation to the court is, however, necessary to an understanding of "The Tempest". The first chapters are, therefore, devoted to this purpose. An effort is made to indicate fully the occasion and the purpose of such performances and the time and place of presentation. The actors of both the antimasque and the masque proper are also treated as fully as time and space permit. In short an effort is made to submit such general information as seems to be indispensible to the study of a specific court performance such as "The Tempest".

Chapter 1.

The Origin and Development of the Masque.

The essential features of the masque are as old as the drama itself, although this particular form of dramatic entertainment has borne various names at different periods in its history. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the term mumming prevailed; in the sixteenth, disguising; and in the seventeenth, the name masque. There were times when two of the terms were used together. In the latter part of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, both mumming and disguising were heard; and, in the sixteenth century, both the terms disguising and mumming were common. From about the year 1600, however, the word masque came to be used exclusively for any dramatic entertainment involving dumb show and dancing in masks. The word masque came from France, but received a decidedly English meaning at the hands of Ben Jonson. Mumming was perhaps the earliest form of this sort of entertainment and also the simplest, amounting to little more than a dumb show. The performers were disguised and said nothing to betray their identity. As they played with dice in silence, they used dumb show to signify their meaning. Musicians and torchbearers accompanied them on their way and the maskers danced after the mumming. Perhaps the earliest example of a mumming was such

as was given in honor of the accession of Henry the Sixth, in 1388, which consisted essentially of dumb show, dicing and dancing.1 By the time the term disguising had become general, the performance had developed into a more elaborate show in which pageantry was employed.2 This feature of course was borrowed from the miracle and morality plays. The next important advance was the addition of the literary element to the dance with masks and the more elaborate forms of disguisings; and to this more finished product the term masque came to be applied exclusively.

The masque as a form of literature reached its height under Ben Jonson and its greatest era of popularity in the reign of James the First. The dance always remained the chief element from the standpoint of presentation. As a form of literary art, the masque has been ably defined by Evans. "The masque, then, is a combination in variable proportions, of speech, dance and song, but its essential and invariable feature is the presence of a group of dancers varying in number, but commonly eight twelve, or sixteen, called masquers." Its distinctive features are also described by Symonds. "The masque in England was a dramatic species, occupying a middle place between a pageant and a play. It combined dancing and music with lyric poetry and declamation, in a spectacle characterizdd by magnificence of presentation.3 Broad as are these definitions, they

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1.Evans, Herbart Arthur, English Masques, The Introduction.

2.Schelling, Elizabethan Drama.

3.Symonds, Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama.

cannot, of course, convey a definite idea of the splendor of those performances. It is well nigh impossible for us to conceive of the momentary appeal which the masque made to the ear and the eye, its blaze of color and light, and its extravagant scenes.

Contrary to common opinion, the masque was presented in one form or another, from the earliest part of the thirteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century. We hear of mummings as early as 1236. It is probable that the ludi domini Regis, mentioned very early, were of the same nature as the mummings and the later disguisings.1 In 1348 the ludi were given in the palace at Guilford as a part of the Christmas entertainment of Edward the Third. Their similarity to the regular mumming and disguising appears in the following description of the properties used in presenting them:2 "Eighty tunics of buckram of various colours, forty-two visours of various similitudes; that is, fourteen of the faces of women, fourteen of the faces of men with beard, fourteen of the heads of angels made with silver; fourteen crestes cum tibiis reversatis et calceatis; fourteen crestis cum montibus et cuniculis, fourteen mantles embroidered with heads of dragons; fourteen white tunics wrought with heads and wings of peacocks; fourteen heads of swans with wings; fourteen tunics painted with eyes of peacocks; fourteen tunics of English linen painted and as many tunics embroidered with stars." Edward the Third died on Jan-

1. Collier's Annals of the Stage, .

2. Collier, Annals of the Stage, 1.

uary 2, 1377, and a great mumming was given in honor of his successor, Prince Richard, who resided at Kennington. The date was February the second, Candlemas day. 1 The commons of London made great sporte and solemnity"

It was not long until another similar entertainment was given. The date was 1398, the twelfth year of the reign of Richard the Second. The entry in the wardrobe account is as follows: "pro 21 coifs de tela linea pro hominibus de lege contrafactis, pro ludo regis tempore natalis Domini, Anno XII." The record of a great mumming in 1401 has been preserved in a manuscript entitled "Chronicle of English affairs especially those relating to the city of London from 1 Richard the First to the 21 henry the Sixth." 2 In that year the Emperor of Constantinople visited the King who observed his Christmas at Eltham. The men of London made " a great mumming to him of twelve aldermen and here sones, for which they had grete thanke." It would seem from the very first the masque was a favorite means of entertainment of a royal guest and for celebrating religious holidays.

That mummings and disguisings were common during the fifteenth century there is abundant evidence. It was during this time that Lydgate wrote verses to accompany mummings, but the literary element did not enter very largely until much later.

1/ The Cambridge History of Literature Vol. VI./Ch.XIII.

2. Collier, Annals of the Stage, 1.

Had the practice of writing poetry to accompany these performances been more general, our knowledge of the masque would perhaps be more complete. However, certain contemporary records have been preserved. In Hearne's edition of Leland's Collectanea, 1770, Wharton found an old manuscript memoir of shows and ceremonies at court.1 In it was the following very interesting entry: "On Candlemas day 1490 at night the kyng, the qwene, and my ladye the kynges moder came into the Whyt hall, & ther had a play; and during the festivities of Christmas he observes, 'on neweres day at nyghte, there was a goodly disguising". Further evidence that mummings and disguisings were common at this time may be gathered from the expense accounts in the book of the Exchequer and the household books of Henry the Seventh. In the former there is an account of the expense of the disguisings at court, in 1496.

About the beginning of the sixteenth century, Italian influence on the masque became very noticeable. The Italian masque was then at its height. It was noted for its extravagance of scenery and the excellence of its music. Some critics think that the masque was actually transported from Italy. 2 They contend that English writers had added nothing more than the familiar pageants and other devices of the miracle and the morality plays. Hall was perhaps the first to give specific mention of the Italian masque in England.3 "On the day of

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1.Collier, Annals of the Stage, 1.

2.Symonds, Shakespeare's Predecessors.

3.Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage, 1., Ch.XVII.

the Epiphanie at night, the Kyng with a XI other were disguised, after the manner of Italie, called a maske, a thyng not seen afore in Englande, thei were appareled in garmentes long and brode, wrought all with gold, with visers and cappes of gold & after the banket doen, these maskers came in with sixe gentlemen disguised in silke bearying staffe torches, and desired the ladies to dance, some were content, and some that knew the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thing commonly seen and thei daunced and commoned together, as was the fashion of the maske, thei took their leave and departed and so did the Queene and all her ladies." The question as to what Hall meant by the thing not seen before in England is somewhat puzzling and has caused much discussion. We may have referred to the recent innovation of the fashion in which the masquers danced with the spectators. Symonds thinks that there is no doubt of the Italian origin of the masque and supports his contention by the fact that Marlowe mentions this fact in his works. It is, however, impossible to settle this question definitely. We may be sure that there was a period of decided Italian influence. Something in the way of characterization was borrowed for both the antimasque and the masque proper, because we find in Italian masques ballets of maniacs, armed men, moors, hunters, goats, and gladiators. Such a variety of characters would certainly cause a change in English masques from the sameness of figures which they had long possessed.

In Saundo's Venitian Diary, we find a detailed history of the festivities following the marriage of Lucrezia Borgia to Alfonzo d'Este, at Ferrara, in 1502. Masques and ballets

were given between each of the five plays of Plautus. There were ballets of armed men, maniacs, Germans, Moors, hunters, goats, and gladiators. A globe was drawn forth out of which emerged the four cardinal virtues, singing appropriate songs.1 The use of the globe soon became popular in English masques.

The ballet at Urbino, in 1513, introduced the chariot, which gave a processional character to the masque. Four interludes were given between the five acts of the comedy, Bibbena's "Calandria". In the first one Jason yoked two fire- breathing bulls together and sowed dragon's teeth. From traps in the stage emerged a double band of antique warriors who danced and slew each other. The second was marked by the masque of Venus, who was drawn along in her car by a couple of doves, surrounded by a band of cupids tossing fire from torches. The third was a masque of Neptune drawn by sea-horses. Lastly, a masque of Juno was given. She was represented as seated in a fiery car, drawn by peacocks, her attendants being birds, eagles, ostriches sea mews, parrots, etc. In this masque occurred a spectacular sword dance. The English masque makes frequent use of Venus and her car. In court masque it was the custom to speak of her car as drawn by doves and that of Juno by peacocks. "The Tempest" contains such a reference to the latter in the expression, "Her peacocks fly amain."

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1. Symonds, Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama.

When transplanted to English soil, the Italian masque was shorn of much of its splendor. Until the time of Inigo Jones, no Englishman could equal Italian architecture. Nor was the English masque enriched with such fine music as graced the performances at Urbino. However, in one respect, it was entirely original, and that was in the addition of literature in the form of dialogue and song. Some of the later masques have distinct literary value, such as "Oberon" and "The Tempest".

Some writers contend that the masque was not a favorite with Queen Elizabeth and that it did not make much progress during her reign; but this view is only partially correct. It must be remembered that such performances were very expensive and that the Queen was disposed to follow a policy of economy. In spite of this fact, however, masques and entertainments were common. On her progresses through the realm, Elizabeth was everywhere greeted with some form of entertainment, the most brilliant spectacle of the kind being that given by Lord Leicester at Kenilworth. Masques and pageants held their place in the public eye and were considered important through the Queen's reign and even down to the closing of the theaters in 1642.1 In the first year of her reign we find mention of the presentation of masques and the purchase of material for the same.2 A few entries from the "Revels Accounts" will make

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1. The Cambridge History of Literature, Vol.VI./ Ch.XIII.
2. Feuillerat, Document of the Revels Accounts.

clear their history during this period:

" 1559. A Maske of Shypmenn and mayden of the countrye then made and shewen at horsleye as otherwyse rysinge and growinge between the XXkV daye of Julye and the laste daye of September that yeare as hereunder the partyes names and several somes of moneye dewe and wherefore particulerlye apere".

"1559/60. ffower maskes with there torche berers sett forthe and shewen before ye queenes maiestie at Whyte Hawle on neweres daye and Twelf daye att nyghte".

1571/2 Six masques are listed for Christmas, New Year's Day, Twelfth Day, and Shrovetide.

"1573/4. Maskes shewen at Hampton Coorte. Warriors Vll with one shippmaster that uttered a speche. Torchbearers Vl the warriors had hargabusses. Ladies Vll with one that uttered a speche. Torchberers both which maskes were shewen on Shrovetewesday at Wyghte".

"1573/4. Maskes showen at Whyte Hall. Lanceknightes Vl in Blew sattyn gaskon cotes & slopps &c. Torchbearers Vl in Black & yalo Taffata &c. showen on Saint Johns daie at nyghte. fforesters or hunters Vl in Greene sattyn gaskon cotes & slopps &c. Torchbearers Vl attyred in mosse & Ivy &c. showen on newyeres day at nyghte. Sages Vl in long gowenes of Redd damask showen on Twelf daye at nighte".

"1578/9. A Maske of Amasones in all armore compleate parcell gilte gilded within this office with counterfett murryons silvered over and parcell gilte and A creste on the top top of every Vl of them having long hair hanging down behind them, their kirtles were of crymson cloth of gold being in-

dented at the skirte and Laied with silver lace and frindge with pendauntes of gold tassels gold knobbes and set on with Broches of golde plated uppon the skirte with plates of silver lawne with tassels of gold Laid under belowe insteed of petticotes/ etc."

"1578/9". Another Masque of Knights was given in "armoure compleate parcell guilte", having truncheons in their hands, guylded shields". One came in before the rest with a speech to her highness. Then the Knights and Amazones danced together.

With the accession of James the First, 1603, there began a new epoch in the development of the English masque. The King was willing to spend without grudging the extravagant sums necessary to make this form of court entertainment a success. Changes in court life and public sentiment rendered his reign wholly different from the previous one. The ministry and the nobility were fond of the masque, because it gave them a suitable opportunity for the adulation of their sovereign.1 At precisely this time the Italian masque was passing through a period of gran deur never before equaled. It was, therefore, a favorable time for foreign influence. Two great performances in Italy deserve our attention as affecting the character of English masques. One of these was designed to celebrate the wedding of Francesco dei Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany. It was so elaborate as to be styled "the climax of Florentine engenuity"2

1.Ward, English Drama, 11./Page 629.

2. Symonds, Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama ChlX

Classical mythology was ransacked to secure such personifications as Venus, Cupid, the Graces, Psyche, and many others. The second was a grand masque for Henry, Duke of Anjou, on the occasion of his departure for France, the ancestral throne to which he had recently been called. A very clear idea of the nature of the performance may be obtained from the following statement by Symonds: "Venice through those days of festival exhibited the scene of one vast masque--the most imperially mounted and played on the most splendid theater earth can show". Such magnificent shows must necessarily have influenced the English masque, but unfortunately England had no architects equal to Vasario and Palladio and no painters comparable to Pontormo and Brozino. It is a matter to be regretted that more Italian architects and musicians did not make their homes in London, where their assistance would have added so much to the q quality of Jacobean shows. Unfortunately, also, there were no English musicians and dancing masters as efficient as those of the Italians. Two names deserve to be mentioned along with with that of Jonson as the founders of the English masque. One of these was Inigo Jones, the architect, who produced nearly all the devices of scenery and pageants for court masques, and the other was Thomas Giles, the man who looked after the dancing. Of course it was reserved for Ben Jonson to give the masque its place as a form of literature, an eminence of which the Italians could not boast. The names of Beaumont, Daniel, Chapman, Campion, Fletcher, and Heywood should also be mentioned as contributing much to court masque.

This kind of court performance became more complex in the reign of James the First than it had been at any earlier period of its history. The dance, however, was always the nucleus of the entertainment, and, as from the beginning, the masquers danced in silence, using dumb show to express their meaning. We have intimated before that John Lydgate was perhaps the first to add a literary element to mumming.1 In 1430 he wrote no less than eight sets of verses to accompany these performances before the King and the Mayor of London. Three of them were letters explaining the devices and two were verses for the presenter.. The dramatic elements of parleying and singing were added about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The date was probably 1501, when a disguising was made for Henry the Seventh. Those who are familiar with the history of the masque will remember that, on this occasion, there was a car, representing a castle in which were eight ladies and four children singing. Another car, representing a ship, contained a number of knights. The knights stormed and took the castle and in the encounter there was a lively parley between the contestants. Then followed the dance. The popular device of the movable car and stages, which came from the miracle and morality plays, we have already noticed. The dancers were always concealed from view during the first part of the performance, but at just the proper moment they appeared from the traditional

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1. Schelling, Elizabethan Drama, Vol.1./Page 7[illegible].

concave shell or great globe, or other device arranged to conceal them. They generally ranged in number from eight to sixteen and were commonly members of the nobility. The dances were of two kinds. There was first the stately figure dance performed by the masquers alone. Technically it consisted of the Entry, the Main, and the Going-out. The second kind was known as the revels, which were livelier dances given by the masquers with partners. Various names, such as corantos and galliards, were applied to them.1 They were continued far into the night, and daybreak often came before the crowd dispersed. After the introduction of the antimasque, the comic dance with its unusual figures and poses became very popular.

Soon after Lydgate began writing for the masque, dialogue became common. In the masque of "Proteus and the Rock of Adamantine", the structural order is song, dialogue, and the entry of the masquers, followed by the dances and the closing song. This is also the general order observed in later masques2 The introductory part soon grew from a single speech by the presenter to something resembling a little drama, and introduction by dialogue rises to the level of fine low comedy in Jonson's "News from the New World Discovered in the Moon,"1621, and in many subsequent masques.3 The speeches were somewhat longer than those found in regular comedy and full of classical references. Especially is this true of Ben Jonson's works.

1.Evans, English Masques, Introduction.

2. Schelling, Elizabethan Drama, Vol.11., Ch.XV.

3. Evans, English Masques, Introduction.

The audience, however, always consisted of the nobility, who were sufficiently cultured to enjoy mythology and classical learning.

Another essential element of the masque is to be found in its complimentary character. Compliments were usually directed to the king, queen, or some nobleman; but in the wedding masque, they were addressed to the bride and groom. Daniel devised twelve goddesses to represent the blessings enjoyed by his country during the reign of James the First. This masque, known as "The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses", was presented at court early in James's reign. The tendency grew rapidly and soon became excessive flattery. It was perhaps as an antidote for this as much as for any other reason that the antimasque was introduced.

The antimasque appeared in 1608. The court had doubtless grown tired of the lavish inventions of the architect and the eternal procession of gods and goddesses. Flattery and excessive allegory had also become too common. It was as a foil to all this that the antimasque was introduced. This part of the performance began with a dance and a dumb show, but sometimes had also dialogue and song. It required a grotesque and comic motive and admitted of a great variety of characters. The antimasque was"commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beasts, sprites, witches, Ethiops, pigmies, nymphs, rustics, cupids, statuas moving, and the like,"1 During the reign of James the First, actors from the public theater, the the King's Servants, and children's companies were employed in

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1. Bacon, Francis, Essays, The Macmillan Co., London, 1904.

this part of the entertainment. This was necessarily true, because the antimasque required a variety of characters and furnished an opportunity for acting. It will be remembered that the nobles might dance, but they had not the skill to act. Symonds has explained the antimasque so admirably that I will quote his exact words: "While the masque assumes the form of the Triumph or Ballet, the antimasque is more strictly and energetically dramatic. The antimasque gave occasion for dialogue and action; the masque to processions, dances, and accompaniments of music. In the antimasque Hecate led the revels of witches around her cauldron. In the masque queens attended Anne of Denmark in her passage across the stage on chariots of gold and jewels; lutes and viols sounded; Prince Henry and Duke Charles stepped to the high measures of the galliards and carrantos."

To Jonson belongs the credit of originating the antimasque. The idea was developed gradually and rather unconsciously. In "The Masque of Beauty", the torchbearers were "a multitude of cupids, chose out of the best and most ingenious youth of the kingdom, noble and others." Here unconsciously the device of the antimasque was anticipated. The next step was taken in the masque of "Hymenaei", where there are two sets of masquers. The third step was made in the "Hue and Cry after Cupid". Here the twelve boys in antic attire form the antimasque. Cupid is attended with twelve boys, "most antickly attired, that represent the sports and pretty Lightnesses that

accompany "ove". Jonson himself called this an antimasque of boys. In "The Masque of Queens", he made a band of witches the foil of a company of heroines. After the dance, the dame asked the eleven to blast the glory of the masque about to be held. Thereupon they fell into "a magical dance full of preposterous change and gesticulation." This type of antimasque reached its height in "Oberon." At about this time in its development, Chapman introduced his antimasque of baboons,1613, by a lively dialogue between the God of Riches and the Man of Wit. This hint Jonson adopted in "Love Restored",1614, "Mercury Vindicated 1615, "The Vision of Delight",1617, and "Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue", 1618. In 1613, the masques of Chapman and Beaumont for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth each had two antimasques, an innovation which became the rule after this date.

Chapter II.

The Masque in Relation to the Court.

The masque was the favorite entertainment of the court and gentry. The occasion varied somewhat, but was generally the reception of a distinguished guest, a holiday celebration, or a betrothal or wedding of noted persons. Richard the Second entertained the Papal legate, 1390, in an elaborate manner, marked by the consumption of "200tuns of wine and 2000 oxen". A little earlier than this, 1377, on Sunday before Candlemas, one hundred-thirty citizens rode from New Gate, Kensington, with torches and music to entertain the young Prince Richard.[1] In 1401, the King held a great mumming of twelve aldermen to entertain his guest, the Emperor of Constantinople,[2] and the marriage of Prince Arthur to Katherine of Arragon was celebrated in Westminster, 1501, with a great disguising in the presence of an immense throng of the nobility and gentry.[3] During the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First, no reception, entertainment, or ceremony was considered complete without the masque. The Queen made progresses through the country each

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1. Evans, English Masques, Introduction.
2. Evans.
3. The Cambridge History of Literature, Vol. VI. Ch. XIII.

summer, visiting the leading towns and universities. She was everywhere entertained by allegorical pageantry, decorations, fireworks, whole masques, and dramas.1 In 1575, Lord Leicester prepared a magnificent entertainment for her at Kenilworth, the splendor of which had never before been equaled. Three years later she was entertained at Norwich in a similar manner.

In the reign of James the First, Jonson was again and again called on to furnish masques for the entertainment of the King and his court. In 1606, the King of Denmark was the guest of James the First. A great spectacle was given for him at Theobalds. In the following year, the King and Queen were again entertained here, and the Countess of Derby was honored by a masque at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in the same year. AMong the great number of wedding masques, the most noted were "The Masque of Blackness", celebrating the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert to Lady Susan Vere; "Hymenaei", the marriage of the Earl and Countess of Essex; "The Hue and Cry after Cupid", the marriage of Lord Haddington and Lady Elizabeth Ratcliffe; and "A Challenge to Tilt", the marriage of a distinguished couple now unknown.2 In the "Hue and Cry", Jonson himself says: "The worhty custom of honouring worthy marriages, with these noble solemnities, hath of late years advanced itself frequently with us, to the reputation no less of our court, than nobles, expressing besides

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1. Schelling, Elizabethan Drama, Vol.1., Page 103.
2. Ward, English Drama, Vol.II., Ch.V.

(through the difficulties of expense and travel, with the cheerfulness of undertaking) a most real affection in the persona-aters, to those, for whose sake they would sustain these persons." On February 20,1613, Francis Beaumont's "Masque of the Inner-Temple and Gray's Inn" was performed before the King and the Elector and his bride as a part of the elaborate wedding festivities following the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth. For this same occasion "The Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn", by Chapman, was presented.1. "The Tempest" with its betrothal-wedding masque was also a part of the entertainment for the marriage festivities of Elizabeth in 1613. 2

The majority of the extant masques were presented at the court of King James. Some of them were so well received that James ordered them to be repeated. "The Metamorphosed Gypsies",1621, so pleased him that he caused it to be given on three different occasions, and, to show his appreciation, he raised Jonson's pension. "Pan's Anniversary", 1625, was perhaps the last performance that the King witnessed.

It should perhaps be stated here that some of the court masques were entirely complimentary to the sovereign. We have before mentioned Daniel's "The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses" in this connection, and now include also "The Irish Masque". The latter was given in honor of King James's successful Irish policy, and to compliment the people for their loyalty.3 In 1624, "Neptune's Triumph" was performed in honor of Prince Charles's return from Spain.

1.Evans, Eng. Masques. 2. Brandes, W. Shakes. 3.Ward, Eng.Drama.

Performances at the gay court of Elizabeth were usually held at Christmas, Candlemas, on Twelfth Night, Shrove Tuesday, St. John's Day, or during Shrovetide. As a rule they were given at night. According to "The Document of the Revels Accounts",1559-1589, by Feuillerat, there were forty-two entries whose titles contain the word maske. Of these almost all were given on the Christmas holidays. Shrove Tuesday, the day immediately before Ash Wednesday, was chosen eight times as the date for these performances; Christmas, five times; and New Year's Day, three or four times. Both Shrove Sunday and Candlemas, February the 22nd, the date of the Feast of the Purification, were selected one or more times. Twelfth Day, reckoned by counting twelve days from Christmas, was frequently selected. The same holidays were often chosen for the presentation of the great Jacobean court masques. On Twelfth Night the following masques were shown:1 "The Masque of Blackness",1605; "The Masque of Beauty",1608; "Hymenaei",1606; and "The Masque of Augurs", 1622. On Christmas were presented "The Masque of Christmas",1616;"The Vision of Delight",1617; and probably "News from the New World Discovered in the Moon". "Pan's Anniversary" was performed on New Year's Day. This list, of course, does not include all such performances that may have been given

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1.Jonson, Ben, Works, Edited by W. Gifford.

on these particular days, and so various were the occasions for them that almost any date might be chosen. "The Masque of Queens, for instance, was held on the second day of February and "The Masque of the Inner-Temple and Gray's Inn, on February the twentieth,1613. 1

It was at Whitehall as the chief residence of Elizabeth that many court performances were held during her reign. The records show that at least thirty-eight plays were given here. Of these "The Revels Accounts" indicates that eleven or twelve were masques. This stately old mansion was originally the palace of Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, and for many years it had been the London residence of the Archbishop of York. "White hall" was a name given after Wolsey's time. Until then it was known as the"Palace of York", and here Wolsey lived and received many visits from Henry the Eighth. During this time, he erected a good part of York House, especially the part called White-hall, from the freshness of its appearance in contrast to the other buildings surrounding it. After Wolsey's fall, the palace came into possession of the crown. Henry now prohibited the name York, renaming it Whitehall, and made it his principal home Holbein, the great painter, was employed by him in its decoration. Henry added to the house a sumptuous gallery and a beautiful gatehouse fronting toward St. James's Parl. "In this

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1.Beaumont, Francis, Works,

gallery", says Stowe, "the princes with their nobility used to stand or sit at the windows, to behold joustings and other military exercises". Were during the reign of James the First most of the splendid court masques were presented. "The Masque of Blackness", "The Masque of Beauty", "The Masque of Queens", "Love Restored", "Time Vindicated", the masques of Beaumont and Chapman for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, 1613, and almost certainly the "Tempest" were given in this majestic old palace, probably in the banqueting hall, built for James the First, and the only part of the building that escaped the destructive fires of 1691 and 1697.

Hampton Court is known to have been the scene of at least twenty-six court performances during the time of Elizabeth. Of this number four or more were unquestionably masques. This old palace is one of the finest extant specimens of the Tudor style of architecture. At one time it was the home of England's rulers. In 1515, Cardinal Wolsey received a lease of the old grounds for ninety-nine years, and here he erected the palace of Hampton Court. The splendor of the place seems to have aroused the Jealousy of Henry the Eighth, and, acting perhaps through caution, Wolsey gave it to the King in 1526. It became one of his favorite residences to which he added the famous hall and chapel, done after the Gothic style. Here, in 1604, Daniel's masque, "The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses" was presented.

At Richmond Elizabeth saw court plays twelve different times. According to the "Revels Accounts", masques were given on three, or more, occasions. This is one of th very old palaces, where Henry the Eighth often kept Christmas. The ancient town of Richmond grew up around the Royal Manor House. It was a frequent residence of England's sovereigns. Here Edward the First received his commissioners in 1300. The palace was rebuilt by Edward the Third, who died here in 1377. It was frequently used by Richard the Second. Here his wife died, whereupon he caused the building to be destroyed. Henry the Fifth, however, rebuilt it, and Henry the Eighth gave it as a residence to Cardinal Wolsey after he had received Hampton Court from the latter.

It was at Greenwich that Elizabeth was born and here she held eight different court performances, among which were at least three masques.1 The palace was originally built by Humphry, Duke of Gloucester. As early as 1300, it was a favor-royal residence. Henry the Fifth granted it to Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, who in turn gave it to Humphry. During the life time of the latter, the house was rebuilt and at his death it reverted to the crown. Not only was it the birthplace of Elizabeth, but also of Henry the Eighth and Mary. The building was enlarged by Edward the Fourth and by Henry the Eighth, who made it his chief residence and named it "Placentia". During the reign of Elizabeth, it was her summer home.

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1. Feuillerat, The Document of the Revels Accounts.

Windsor Castle is perhaps one of the most interesting as well as most magnificent of royal residences. This no doubt is due as much to its commanding position and the stately groups of ancient buildings as to its long list of historical connections. It seems that even at the time of the Heptarchy a stronghold of importance existed here. The chief part of this still stands and forms a circular mound one hundred twenty-five feet in diameter, on which part the round tower now stands. About 1272, Henry the Third built the first complete Round Tower, but Edward the Third constructed it after a much more massive plan. According to popular legend, it was on this mound that King Arthur used to sit, surrounded by his Knights of the Round Table. The dainty chapel cloister of Henry the Third's building still stands. In 1501-1503, Henry the Seventh rebuilt the upper portion. Later, however, Henry the Eighth gave the unfinished chapel to Wolsey, who engaged a Florentine sculptor to construct for him a costly tomb here. For this reason, it was afterwards calle Wolsey's Tomb House. In this palace Henry the Eighth, at his own request, was laid to rest by the side of Jane Seymour. It was often used as a residence by Elizabeth, who here witnessed eight court plays. The records show that two of these were masques.

At Westminster, six different masques were presented. This palace existed as early as Canute, but the one better known is supposed to have been erected by Edward the Confessor, who built what is called the "Painted Chamber", and the hall afterwards used by the House of Lords. The building was prob-

enlarged by William the Conqueror,and the Great Wall rebuilt by William Rufus, in 1097. After the fire of 1512, it was no longer used as a royal residence, but was allowed to fall into partial decay. It was, however, later repaired and used by Parliament, when, in 1835, all except the Wall again fell a prey to the flames.

Before we proceed to the next chapter, some idea of the enormous expense of the masque should be given. It appears that charges for revels during the reign of Henry the Seventh were comparatively small, but the disguisings at Christmas of the first year of the reign of Henry the Eighth were "no less than 5841 19s 7d for gold plate, silks, and apparel alone".1 According to the "Revels Accounts", the expense in the sixteenth century amounted to a considerable sum, most of which was paid to the carpenters, tailors, property-makers, porters, mercers, and haberdashers. Among the entries this one appears: "1573/4. Item for diettes & lodgings of dyvers children at Saint Jones while they learned their partes & Jesture meete for the mask in which 1X of them did serve at hampton Coorte 33s 4d". When James the First came to the throne, money was spent much more extravagantly. It has been estimated that the aver age cost of a single masque in the reign of the first of the Stuarts was 1400 pounds, or about 6000 pounds of our present money.2 Some cost much more than this amount. The expense of a few of the

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1. Collier, Annals of the Stage, Vol.1.

2. Evans, English Masques, Introduction.

The Masque of Blackness.....3000 pounds.

The Hue and Cry after Cupid.....7200 "

The Masque of Tethys .....1600 "

Oberon.. .....1000 "

The Masque of Queens .....1550 "

Hymen's Triumph .....3000 "

The Memorable Masque .....1000 "

The Masque of Christmas..... 720 "

The Triumph of Peace .....2000 "

The Inns of the Court also tried to keep pace with the King, and rich noblemen furnished complimentary pageants for distinguished marriages and royal visits. These rivaled and often exceeded in expenditure the regular court masques.

Chapter III.

The Masque in Relation to the Court: The Actors.

Let us now turn to the actors in the masque. Of course "the masquers themselves were always the highest notables of the land", and they always remained the actors in the stately part of the performance.1 However with the introduction of the presentation, dialogue, and music, came the necessity for professional actors.2 From an early period, they have had a greater part in such entertainments, it appears, than has generally been conceded. It had been the custom since Richard the Third to train boys as torchbearers for the entertainments of the King and Queen. When Richard the Third was Duke of Gloucester, he entertained a company of players as his servants. As early as the reign of Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth, the custom of paying the king's servants or players was established. "In the Lansdowne Collection of MSS. is one with the following title,'A Declaration of monies paid into and disbursed out of the Exchequer, from Easter the 20 Henry VII to Easter 21 Henry VIII!', which contains the following entry where Gibson only is named:'To Richard Gibson and other King's Players for their annuity for one year 13l 6s 8d'."3 That minstrels and

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1.The Camb. His. Lit. 2. Schelling 3.Collier.

trumpeters played a part in the masque is also practically certain. Elizabeth, wife of Henry the Seventh, paid for the coats of various minstrels and trumpeters at a disguising held during that reign.1 Henry the Seventh is known to have had a band of players which he called the King's Players, and also one known as Prince Arthur's Players of Interludes. The Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Oxford, and the Earl of Northumberland each had his company of players. It appears that Henry the Seventh had a company to which he gave the name Gentlemen of the Chapel, which performed chiefly during the festivities of Christmas when masks and shows were given.2 To these was added a new company by Henry the Eighth., known as the King's Players. The Children of the Chapel were used as a company of comedians, and like the other actors, were paid out of the public treasury.3 During the reign of Elizabeth,professional actors evidently had some part in the presentation of the masque. Though the leading roles in the stately figure dance were performed by the ladies and gentlemen of the court, there were features that had to be delegated to children and trained actors.

There is an interesting entry in the"Revels Accounts" for 1582/3, which points directly to the use of boys in the masque. "A maske of Ladies presented themselves before her majesty at Twelfth Eve at nyght, whereunto was prpared and imployed (beside the stuff of this office) XV yardes of black

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1.Collier, Annals of the Stage, Vol.1.

2.Ward, English Drama, Vol.1./Page 149.

3.Collier.

and white Lawne or Cipres for the head attires & and vizardes Xl ells of sarcenet Vlll paire of gloves for boyes and Torch-bearers and one pair of white shoes". A little later,1586, Thomas Giles, Master of the Children of Paul's, was instructed by the Queen "to take up any boys in the Cathedrals or College Churches" for the purpose of instructing them to entertain the court.1

During the reign of James the First, the masque took on a more decided literary form, as we have observed before, than it had possessed under his predecessors. With the introduction of the antimasque, the dramatic element became an essential feature. A great variety of characters was introduced,and the necessity for skilled acting arose. Actors from the open stage, therefore, represented the presenters and allegorical personages and acted in the comic roles. The court musicians sang the beautiful lyrics interspersed between the dances. In the masque proper, however, royalty and aristocracy performed and made an impressive and dignified spectacle. The nobleman could dance exquisitely, and always remained the conspicuous figure in the masque. It was the nobility who made this type of entertainment so immensely popular; for the city folk and the gentry crowded to Whitehall to see them perform on the palace stage.2.

1.Collier, Annals of the Stage, Vol.1.

2.Symonds, Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama, Chapter IX.

There is direct evidence to show that Jonson's masques were presented by the nobility. His notes and introductions leave this matter perfectly clear, for they give the names of the masquers.1 It is to be regretted that the names of the actors in the antimasque were not recorded. "The Masque of Blackness" was presented by the Queen, the Countess of Bedford, Lady Herbert, the Countess of Derby, Lady Rich, the Countess of Suffolk, Lady Beville, Lady Effingham, Lady E. Howard, Lady Susan Vere, Lady Worth, and Lady Walsingham. The younger members of these noble families personated the Oceaniae and the lightbearers. In "The Masque of Beauty", the Queen, the Countess of Derby, and the Countess of Bedford again played a leading part, and they were assisted by the Countess of Montgomery, Lady E. Guilford, Lady Katherine Peter, Lady Anne Winter, Lady Windsor, Lady Anne Clifford, Lady Mary Neville, Lady E. Hatton, Lady F. Garrard, Lady Chichester, and Lady Walsingham. The first masque in "Hymenaei" consisted of eight men: Lord Willoughby, Lord Walden, Sir James Hay, The Earl of Montgomery, Sir Thomas Howard, Sir Thomas Somerset, the Earl of Arundel, and Sir John Ashby. "He Masque of Queens" was performed by the Queen of Great Britain and her ladies, who, with two or three exceptions, were the same as those in the "Masque of Beauty". The tilters in the presentation of "Prince Henry's Barriers" were the Duke of Lennox, the Earl's of Arundel,

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1.Jonson, Ben, Works, W. Gifford.

Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery; the Lords Walden, Compton, Norris, North, Hay, and Dungwell; Sir Thomas Somerset, Sir Thomas Howard, Sir Henry Carey, and Sir S. Alexander. "Oberon" was performed on Tuesday before the "Barriers" was given on Wednesday, and the same persons probably took part in it. The dance of the Satyrs was probably performed by professional actors, while the faies were personated by the younger members of the nobility. Then followed the dance of Oberon and the knights. In regard to the part played by the children, there is an interesting footnote in Giffords "Works of Ben Jonson". The little ladies performed their part to the amazement of all beholders, considering the tenderness of their years, and the many intricate changes of the dance which was so disposed that which way-so-ever the changes went the little duke (Charles) was still found to be in the midst of these little dancers." A song intervened and the Queen and her ladies came in to dance the measures, corantos and galliards.

About this time, 1610-11, the King's Servants performed in a number of masques at court. They gave "Love Restored", 1610-11, and later "The Irish Masque" and "Mercury Vindicated". The King himself probably took part in "A Challenge to Tilt", as he was "much attached to these manly exercises". The Lords and Gentlemen, The King's Servants, are also conceded to have been the actors in "The Golden Age Restored". From allusions to Burbage and Hemming, we infer that the "masque of Christmas" was acted by the King's Players. The dramatis personae of the

first antimasque were as follows: "Notch, a Brewer's Clerk; Slug, a Lighterman; Vangoose, a Bare Artist; Urson, the Bear Ward; A Groom of the Revels, Lady Alewife, Her Two Women, and Three Dancing Bears". In 1623-4, "Time Vindicated" was performed. The French ambassador and his wife were guests, and the "Prince did lead the revels with the French ambassador's wife."

Chapter IV.

The Tempest a Typical Court Masque.

It seems probable that "The Tempest" is not an incident in the dramatic evolution of a popular drama, but the central point of interest in a court play especially constructed to be its setting. It contains a masque essentially like those usuall y presented at court in Shakespeare's time and exhibiting both antimasque and masque proper, with typical music, dancing, dialogue, and spectacular scenery. The actors in the play refer to it in language commonly used of masques. In commenting on the antimasque of strange shapes in III.3.39, Sebastian names it a "living drollery". Somewhat more definite is the remark of Alonzo, who terms it a dumb show. His entire speech is characteristic in its description of the antimasque.

> "I cannot too much muse
> Such shapes, such gesture, and such sound, expressing--
> Although they want the use of tongue--a kind of excellent dumb discourse".

In the midst of the masque proper, Ferdinand pronounces it a "majestic vision". This is just the proper term to characterize the masque in the time of James the First, for the King lavished great sums of money on the brilliant apparel and the complex

devices of scenery in such performances. In the second speech of Iris, we find another expression char acteristic especially of the wedding masque, nemely, "sore donation freely to bestow". It was the custom to present the contracting parties with costly gifts, a matter of form usually left to the actors. Again, the speech of Ariel bears strong evidence that "The Tempest" is essentially a masque written especially for a wedding celebration.

"Not a hair perished,
On their sustaining garments not a blemish,
But fresher than before".

Shakespeare sees to it that Ariel brings the wrecked courtiers out with unspotted apparel. Beautiful even gorgeous apparel was always used by the nobility and the court in the presentation of the masque. Wet and soiled garments would have been much out of place in the main of a wedding masque. The dramatic difficulty of accounting for the fine appearance of the actors' garments seems to have given Shakespeare much concern, for he endeavors to explain the matter in at least two other places.

II.1.67. Gonzalo. But the rarity of it is,--which is indeed almost beyond credit,--

Sebastian. As many vouched rarities are.

Gonzalo. That our garments, being, as they were drenched in the sea, hold, notwithstanding, their freshness and gloss, being rather new-dyed than stained with

salt water.

In Shakespeare's time the word fresh often meant finely dressed.1 In Holinshed's Chronicle III.807/2, we find a sirilar use of the word: "With manie a fresh gentleman riding before ther". If, now, we assume the expression "fresher than before" to mean more finely dressed than before, we get exactly the requirement for the masque. In the performance of "The Tempest" in 1613. those who acted the part of the courtiers were necessarily dressed in the finest costumes. Gonzalo's reference to his garments as"new dyed" accordingly becomes significant of the real nature of the play.

It was customary for the writers of court masque to compliment the King. If "The Tempest", therefore, is a real court play, this characteristic should appear. A careful examination reveals the fact that there are a number of flattering allusions apparently to James the First. The most direct one is found in scene two of the first act, in the passage where Prospero explains his condition to Miranda and declares that he was foremost among all the dukes for dignity and knowledge of the liberal arts.2 This is such a compliment as would appeal to a ruler of the type of James the First, who, having previously been King of Scotland, now held a very lofty conception of

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1.N. E. D. Sc.

2.Brandes, William Shakespeare, Vol.II.

the dignity of the English throne, and was also somewhat vain of his learning.

In IV.1.40, Prospero says that he must bestow upon the eyes of the young couple some vanity of his art. That this is especially indicative of the masque is best shown in a gloss of word vanity in M. H. Liddell's "The Tempest".

> "The Latinized Greek word matoeotechnia appears in E.L. dictionaries with the glosses, 'vanity of any science or craft'.Cooper; 'the vanity which is in a science or craft' Thomas; 'the vanity of any science' Holyoke, etc. and Shakespeare seems to have prettily conceived of his autumnal masque as an idle exercise of the art of magic a sort of tour de force of Prospero's. The apology is significant,--may it not be Shakespeare's own? One can easily fancy him excusing himself to Ben Jonson for not writing masques maintaining that such art was a waste of the dramatist's true power--a matoeotechnia, as his learned rival would call it."

Following the dance of the Naiads and Reapers, Prospero says, "Our revels now are ended." In Shakespeare's time the word revel was applied to the masque to indicate specifically the quick and lively dances that followed the going-out. These dances were considered extras, and, as their number was not a fixed one, they often lasted till a very late hour at night. A little

further along in the same speech, the performance is designated "an insubstantial pageant". The pageant had long formed a popular part of the masque. The extent of its use in such shows is best indicated in the words of Symonds: 1 "All the elements of scenic pomp--the Pageant, the Triumph, the Morris-dance, the Tournament, the Pastoral, the allegorical Procession --were pressed into the service of the medley". In 1604, a number of remarkable pageants were exhibited on the occasion of King James's passing triumphantly from the tower to Westminster. Seven gates or arches were erected in different places through which the procession passed. The likeness of the great buildings of London, with their nigh towers and steeples, were represented above the first gate. The globe of the world, so mounted as to turn in its frame, was erected above the sixth arch, which was designated the Gate of Triumph. This arch was above the conduit in "Fleete-streete".2

The fine spirit and quality of this passage has rarely been equaled elsewhere in Shakespeare's works. The author has come to the end of his career as a writer. His philosophy of life has become more definite and complete and his mind more peaceful and calm than in the time of"Hamlet"and"Macbeth." ~~The~~ The epilogue is very similar in spirit to this passage. There is little doubt that Shakespeare is speaking of himself, and

1.Symonds, J.A.,Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama.
2.The Var. Tempest.

critics have generally agreed that Prospero is more like him than any other of his characters. When he makes Prospero abjure his magic, he probably has in mind the close of his own career as a dramatist. He had just reached a time when he could retire on a comfortable fortune and return to the home of his youth at Stratford. This is the hint conveyed near the close of the last scene of "The Tempest".

"And thence retire me to my Milan, where
Every third thought shall be my grave".

Numerous other passages might also be cited to show that Shakespeare essentially identifies himself with Prospero.

The stage directions, coming as they do presumably from the hands of Shakespeare himself, are evidence of the author's own point of view. They show that he did not consider the masque as a mere incidental interlude, but an essential part of a court play. Note the stage directions.

III.3.18. "Solemn and strange music. Enter Prospero above, invisible. Enter several strange shapes, bringing in a banquet: they dance about it with gentle actions of salutations and inviting the King, etc. to eat, they depart."

Again, a little later

III.3.70. "Thunder and lightening. Enter Ariel, like a Harpy, claps his wings upon the table, and with a

quaint device the banquet vanishes".

The expression "quaint device" throws much light on the nature of the performance. Let us see just what the word device meant in Shakespeare's time. In the N .E. D.11, it is defined as follows: "Something devised or fancifully invented for dramatic representation; 'a maske played by private persons', or the like". The word was so used in"Love's Labour's Lost". V.2.699,"But I will forward with my device", and in "Midsummer-night's Dream", V.1.50, "The riot of the tipsie Bachanals... That was an old device, and it was played, when I from Thebes came last". Again, in "Timon", I.2. 155, the word was similarly used, "You have entertained me with mine own device". It seems reasonably certain, therefore, that Shakespeare deliberately used the word to refer to the masque.

If we turn for a third time to the stage directions, we find Shakespeare again using language characteristic of the antimasque.

III.3.104, "He vanishes in Thunder; then, to soft music, enter the Shapes again, and dance with mocks and mows, and carry out the table".

Here are the customary music and dancing with mocks and mows. For the meaning of the expression "mocks and mows" in Shakespeare's time, we refer directly to the N.E.D. 1. The words

were used together as a solid phrase. "Mocks" meant a derisive or contemptuous speech , an act of mocking or derision, and the word "mows" grimaces. Perhaps if we imagine the shapes to have used ridiculous gestures and grimaces like those of monkeys, we shall then have a fairly definite idea of the word. From the language of the foregoing stage directions, we may conclude, therefore, that the author of this part of "The Tempest" thought of his work as a masque and worked in the spirit of the masque-artificer.

"The Tempest" is finely typical of masque composition, being essentially regular in its action, subject-matter, and structure. In the time of James the First, dancing was still the chief element as it had been from the first, both of the masque proper and the antimasque. The scope of the action, however, was much enlarged by the introduction of the antimasque, with its comical figures. The dance in this part of the performance was always absurd and humorous, the actors assuming unusual postures and making ridiculous gestures. Strange music and, often, singing accompanied the exhibition. In its subject-matter, the masque drew chiefly from classical literature and mythology. Pan, Vulcan, Hymen, Venus, Juno, Ceres,

Cupid, the Graces, Aeneas, and, in fact, all the gods and goddesses of the Greeks and Romans were suitable persons. In the antimasque a greater variety of characters could be employed. While classical and historical characters might even be employed there, antimasques of antics, witches, baboons, drunkards, ethiops, satyrs, bears, goats, and other strange figures, were much more common. As to its structure, court masque was composed of both masque and antimasque. The antimasque involved music, dialogue, and dancing of a humorous type, while the masque proper consisted of the stately dance of the nobility. Technically it consisted of the Entry, the Main and the Going-out. The revels, or light dances, followed, and, although considered extras, they were really a part of the masque proper.

On examination it will appear that the Tempest masque conforms to the above outline. In the dumb show indicated by the first stage direction, there is solemn and strange music, dancing by strange shapes, and salutations. A banquet is brought in, which is subsequently removed according to the second stage direction. The "quaint device" by which the banquet is made to disappear may seem too extravagant for the masque, but it was just suited to the King's fancy. We are indebted to Gifford for an explanation of this tendency.

"It (the antimasque) admitted of the wildest extravagancies, and it is only by Ben Jonson that attempts are some-

times made to connect it, in any degree, with the main story. He was fully aware of its absurdity, and has spoken of it in another place; but the spectators, as the cook says in "Neptune's Triumph", 'hearkened after these things', and indeed, James himself, who laughed as boisterously as his merry grandson, was well pleased with their introduction. He loved masques (Wilson observes) and such disguises in these maskeradoes (antimasques) as were witty and sudden; the more ridiculous the more pleasant"1

It is probably true, as Dyce conjectures, that the mechanist of the theatre was to do his best to make it seem that the harpy had devoured the banquet and to contrive some method for the disappearing of the table.

To return to the stage directions in III.3.104, the soft music, the entry of the shapes, and the dancing with mocks and mows is typical of the action of the antimasque; and, again, in Act IV., the graceful dance of the Reapers and the Nymphs is characteristic of the dance in the conventional masque proper. There remains yet to be considered the highly dramatic and spectacular scene, in which a noise of hunters is heard and spirits, in the shape of dogs and hounds, chase the drunken courtiers off the stage. Here we have neither dancing nor

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1.Gifford, W., Works of Ben Jonson.

music, but the incident is a true continuation of the previous dumb shows which we have already noticed. It may, therefore, be considered as action typical of the masque.

In respect to subject-matter, we shall also find "The Tempest" equally consistent with Jacobean masque. The strange Shapes, of course, easily fall within the great variety of characters common to the antimasque before 1613. The idea of presenting a Harpy was probably suggested to Shakespeare by a passage in the third book of Virgil's "Aeneid". In spite of the oft repeated charge that he knew small Latin and less Greek, we may be reasonably certain that he was familiar with the best Latin and Greek authors, for he could not have passed through the Grammar school at Stratford without having gained this knowledge. By going to mythology for the character of the Harpy, Shakespeare not only secured a striking and spectacular figure, but remained true also to the custom of the authors of court masque in drawing material fror classical literature. The grotesque spirits in the shape of dogs, and earlier with their mocks and mows, were suggested by court masque as much as the masque proper in Act IV. 1 There are indeed a number of masques in which animal shapes are used. In "The Honour of Wales", 1619, there was a dance of goats; and in "The Masque of

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1. The Influence of Court Masque on Drama. Pub. M.L.A.,1900, 8.

Augurs", there was a similar dance of bears. In the "Shakespeare Society Publications", volume XV., page 143, there is printed an early masque entitled "The Masque of the Four Seasons". The stage directions alone interest us here.

1. "Then enter Gamboles, dancing a single anticke with a forme."

2. "After him, Autumn brings in his Anticke of Drunkards."

3. "Summer follows with a country dance of heymakers or reapers".

4. "The last is a morrice dance, brought in by the Spring".

Here we have characters very nearly parallel to those used by Shakespeare. The "anticke of drunkards" may have suggested the drunken scene of "The Tempest". Of course the inventive genius of Shakespeare would vary it more or less and add much. We do not have Autumn as such in "The Tempest", but Ceres is scarcely different. In the dance of the Reapers and Nymphs, Shakespeare has been consistent with this early court piece, for we notice above that Summer brings in a country dance of "heymakers and reapers".

Chapman introduced into his masque in 1613 an antimasque of baboons. The stage directions add somewhat to the interest of the figures.

"Enter Baboons, after whose dance, being anticke and delightful, they returned to their tree, when Plutus spake to Capricius".

Spectacular and diverting as the drunken scene must have been when "the dogs chased the drunken courtiers off the stage," it probably failed to equal the effect of Caliban, whose character amounted to one complete antimasque. It is this crude brute like creature that furnishes a foil to the royal personages throughout the play. There is no exact parallel to him in court masque, but he is truly a spectacular character. We entirely agree with A. H. Thorndike when he says that Caliban must have been the hit of the play and an effort on Shakespeare's part to satisfy the popular craving for spectacular personages.1. Ariel is used much as Jonson has employed Cupid in "The Hue and Cry after Cupid".

The masque proper, which is found in IV.1.60-138, is regular in its employment of classical material, imagery,and allusion Shakespeare employs Iris, Ceres, Juno, the Naiads, and the Reapers. In introducing the reapers, he did not violate a principle of the masque, for it was common in such performances to mix personages of everyday life with the stately gods of Greece and Rome.2 Ceres had been employed as one of the twelve goddesses in Samuel Daniel's "The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses"

1.Pub. M.L.A.,1900, New Series Eight.

2. Schelling, Elizabethan Drama, II,,Chapter XV.

as early as 1604, which was presented by the queen and her ladies at Hampton Court. As to her attire, Daniel says, in his letter to Lady Lucy, Countess of Bedford, that she appeared "in straw color and silver embroidery, with ears of corn, and dressing of the same" and that she presented a sickle as the emblem of her power. She was used allegorically to represent plenty. 1 Shakespeare may have borrowed from Daniel, for he has used her in a very similar way. If so, he at least enriched the language. Line 61 approaches perfect art.

"Ceres, most bounteous lady, thy rich leas
Of wheat rye, barley, vetches, oats, and peas".

True to the classical idea he has made her the goddess of the harvest. She and Juno sing the marriage blessing, avery appropriate incident on account of Juno's place in classical literature as the patroness of marriage. This was not an innovation. There is a song in the form of a dialogue in Campion's "Masque at the Marriage of Lord Hayes", 1607, which reflects the same spirit of well wishing and optimism.2 We shall have occasion to speak further of the use of Juno Pronuba in connection with the author's purpose of her employment. In "The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses," Daniel represents Juno as the goddess of

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1.Daniel, Samuel, Complete Works, A.B.Grosart, Vol.III, p 137.
2.Campion, Dr. Thomas, The Works of, Edited by A.H.Bullen.

of empire. She appeared there "in a sky colored mantle, embroidered with gold, and figured with peacock's feathers, wearing a crown of gold on her head", and presenting a sceptor. Often in the literature of masques she is represented as appearing in a car drawn by peacocks, and it is, doubtless, with this in mind that Shakespeare wrote, "Her peacocks fly amain". Iris, who appears in "The Tempest" as the messenger of Juno and the sign of spring, is also found in Daniel's "The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses", and in Beaumont's Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn", where she commands Flora to bring in a may-dance. This masque of Beaumont's was presented before the King, the Elector, and Elizabeth, at Whitehall, on February 20,1613. The Nymphs, or Naiads, were familiar classical figures, often used in court masque. In Daniel's "Tethy's Festival", 1610, Tethys, Queen of the ocean and wife of Neptune, is attended with thirteen nymphs of several well known rivers, who take part in the dance. In this performance, Elizabeth represented the nymph of the Thames. We have now considered all of Shakespeare's spectacular characters and have drawn parallels from contemporary masques. It must now be evident that the author of "The Tempest" is consistent in respect to his subject-matter.

We pass next to consider the structure of the Tempest masque. Is it also typical in this respect? Greg says that it is simple pastoral without antimasque, but the stage directions in the third act and direct references to the dramatis personae are sufficiently convincing that this characteristic is not missing. 1 In III. 3.19, the banquet was brought in to solemn and strange music. This was followed by the dance of the strange Shapes. Here we have at least four stock features of the masque, namely, music, strange shapes, dancing, and complimenting the sovereign. The music and the dancing by the Shapes is especially characteristic of the antimasque, and is similar to the dance of the twelve boys in Jonson's "Hue and Cry after Cupid", or of the Satyrs in "Oberon", or of the Witches in the "Masque of Queens". The invitation to eat, which the Shapes extended to the King, is typical of court masque, but is here not so direct and intensely flattering as that generally found in such performances. It will be remembered that the antimasque was intended to serve as a foil to excessive flattery. The dance of the strange Shapes with their absurd gestures is practically Jonson has given us in his antimasque of the twelve boys "antically attired" who attended Cupid and "fell into a subtle and capricious dance, to as odd a music, each of them bearing two

1. Greg, Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama, Chapter XIV.

torches, and nodding with their antickе faces, with other variety of ridiculous gesture". That the scene was as vivid, obscene, grotesque, and absurd as was usual in the antimasque is evidenced by the fact that it caused Gonzalo to think of strange looking mountaineers "whose throats had hanging at 'em wallets of flesh", and men "whose heads stood in their breasts".

Those who are familiar with"The Masque of Queens" will recall the dance of the witches "full of preposterous change and gesticulation, as they danced back to back, hip to hip, and with hands joined." In "The Tempest" the strange Shapes danced with mocks and mows which must have amounted to an antimasque similar to that mentioned above or to the dance of the Satyrs in "Oberon".

The vanishing banquet is indeed older business, but it is well suited to the masque. Marlowe, one of Shakespeare's predecessors, used this device in "Dr. Faustus". 1 The stage directions read as follows:

> "A Sinet (flourish of trumpets) while the banquet is brought in, and then enter Faustus and Mephostophilis in their own shapes".

Shakespeare was undoubtedly familiar with Marlowe's works

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1. Marlowe, Christopher, The Works of, Edited by C.F.T.Brooke.

and may have borrowed this idea.

Near the close of the fourth act occurs a second antimasque. So popular did this part of the performance become that the audience was no longer satisfied with but one. The masques of Chapman and Beaumont for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, in 1613, had each two antimasques. After that date one became the exception. 1 Jonson's "Masque of Christmas", 1616, was in fact all antimasque, possessing an abundance of humor. In court masques, there is at least one antimasque which resembles closely the scene in "The Tempest" where the spirits in the shape of dogs and hounds drive out the drunken courtiers. We refer again to the early court masque entitled "The Masque of the Four Seasons", in which Autumn brings in an Anticke of drunkards.

In the masque proper in IV.1.60-138, the structure is essentially regular. The dance of the Nymphs and Reapers was undoubtedly performed by the nobility in appropriate costumes. The dance of the Naiads is found also in Beaumont's "Masque of the Inner Temple", which presents striking similarities to "The Tempest". Another evidence that the masque is regular is to be observed from the length of the speeches of Iris and Ceres. These performances were con-

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1.Evans, English Masques.

structed for cultured audiences who enjoyed classical mythology. The speeches were accordingly much longer than those occurring in the regular drama. In "The Tempest", the speeches of the goddesses are apparently longer than those elsewhere in the play.

In Shakespeare's comedies masking is so common as to amount almost to a favorite device. It will be sufficient here to mention the elves and fays in "The Merry Wives of Windsor", Hymen's masque in "As You Like It", and the antic dance of the twelve satyrs in "The Winter's Tale". When, therefore, he makes use of this immensely popular entertainment in "The Tempest", he does not make an innovation, but does the simple and natural thing demanded for a marriage occasion. The fact that Jonson considered Shakespeare an offender is significant to our conclusion that "The Tempest" was a piece of regular court masque.

Chapter V.

The Tempest as an Occasional Piece.

It is the purpose of this chapter to show that "The Tempest" is essentially an occasional piece designed to celebrate the betrothal of the Princess Elizabeth and altered for her marriage. The entire play presents an ideal masque setting. In the first place there are certain very spectacular scenes, such as the storm, the enchauntment of Alonzo and his companions and of Stephano and Trinculo.1 The atmosphere of the play is also well adapted to such a performance, and Prospero and Ariel are indeed suitable figures for the masque. The solemn and strange music so common in court performances of this kind is here used to good advantage. Moreover the frequent occurrence of beautiful lyrics in appropriate places is typical and the source of much of the charm of the play that has kept it a favorite of the stage.

The masque proper fits into the play in a perfectly natural and logical way. Ferdinand has escaped from the wreck and has met Miranda and her father alone. Miranda

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1. Liddell, M. H., The Tempest, Introduction.

declares that Ferdinand is the first man for whom she has ever sighed, and he would gladly endure all his losses to behold her once a day. Prospero makes trial of Ferdinand's love and next the young couple become engaged. The love affair is thus completed before the fourth act and an occasion provided for the masque proper. The punishment of Alonzo and the courtiers is likewise accomplished and Prospero's enemies are clearly within his power. Prospero's further revenge would be contrary to the character of the man as thus far presented and would interfere with the play.1 Now that he has prevailed over them he is satisfied.

It had been advanced first by Tick and later by Garnett that "The Tempest" was written to celebrate the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Elector Frederick; but the more probable theory remained to be pointed out by W. H. Liddell, namely, that it was written for the betrothal in the autumn of 1612 and retouched for the marriage in February, 1613. 2 That the correct date for "The Tempest" was 1612 or 1613 has been pretty accurately determined, and Collier in his "Annals of the Stage", supports this contention in the following passage:

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1. Liddell, The Tempest, Introduction.

2. Liddell, The Tempest, Introduction.

"Warlowe states that "The Winter's Tale" was another of the plays performed at this season and it appears from the MSS of Mr Virtue that "The Tempest" was acted by Hemminge, and the rest of the King's company, before the Prince, the Lady Elizabeth, and the Elector in the beginning of the year 1613".

There is, indeed, much evidence to support the contention that Shakespeare consciously designed the play for representation at the Court. The time of its production was one of general rejoicing and festivity, and in the reign of James the First, the masque was the most popular means of celebrating noted weddings. Furthermore the length of the play is significant to our point. "The Tempest" is the shortest of all the plays with the exception of "The Comedy of Errors", the former containing 2064 lines and the latter 1778. 1 This fact is pointed out in a "List of Plays, Prepared By Miss T. R. Srith and Dr. Furnivall". The average length of the plays is about 3000 lines. A performance containing a greater number of lines than the average would probably prove tiresome on the occasion of a wedding. Again, a play prepared for a specific occasion, such as a wedding, must necessarily have been written in a few months, so that it could be rehearsed and put on the stage. A play much longer than "The Tempest" could not be

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1. New Shakespeare Society's Transactions, 1880-5, Pt.2, P.3.

learned and rehearsed in a short time.

"The Tempest" was probably written for the palace stage at Whitehall and not for the ordinary theater. This is substantially the suggestion of Mr. Georg Brandes. 1 A careful examination of the play causes this presumption to seem reasonable. There are very few changes of scene. After the dramatic opening one on the deck of the ship, there really remains no necessity for a change of scenery. The masque in the fourth act is very spectacular, but this effect must have been accomplished by fine costumes of the nobility. No other play of Shakespeare's seems to have been so definitely fashioned for the court stage.

In a preceding chapter, we have shown that the actors in the masque were the nobility and that their costumes were elaborate and very fine. The occasion of a wedding at court would, of course, require the most beautiful and expensive apparel that could be obtained. The actors in "The Tempest" refer directly to their fine clothes, and historians tell us that the Elector and the Princess were most richly dressed for their marriage. Each appeared in a suit of cloth of silver, richly erbroidered. The Princess's train was carried by thirteen young ladies all dressed in a fashion similar to that of the bride. 2 The occasion of a wedding would make it desirable not to have much

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1.Brandes, Georg, William Shakespeare, Vol.II.

2.Brandes, Georg, William Shakespeare, Vol. II.

change of dress. In "The Tempest" there is none except where Prospero puts on his ducal robes. This fact strengthens the presumption that the play was designed as a court performance to be presented on the occasion of the wedding of the King's daughter, the lady Elizabeth.

There is also further evidence within the play itself that it was first written for the betrothal. Iris refers directly to the celebration of a contract of true love in IV,1. 84.

> "A contract of true love to celebrate,
> And some donation freely to estate
> On the Blest lovers."

According to the N.E.D. 3b, the word contract in Shakespeare's time was often used specifically to denote a formal agreement of marriage, or to mean betrothal. About the year 1600 Shakespeare used the word exactly in this sense, in "As You Like It" III.2.332, "Time trots hard with a yong maid between the contract of her marriage and the day it is solemnized". The other meaning of the word to denote the act of uniting persons in marriage was used chiefly between 1300 and 1550. Assuming, then, that Shakespeare has used the word in the same sense as in "As You Like It", we have strong proof that the play was originally written for the betrothal. Again, the words "true love" are especially significant; for the Elector was a very handsome and attractive young man, who won not only the esteem

of the King and the reluctant Queen, but also the admiration of all the English people as well as Elizabeth's love. 1

Those who are familiar with English history will recall the circumstances attending the engagement and marriage of the Princess. Elizabeth, who was the eldest daughter of James the First, was born at Falkland Castle, Fifeshire, in 1596. In 1603 she accompanied her mother to England. After spending a brief time in the care of her governess, the Countess of Kildare, she was sent to Combe Abbey to be educated by Lord and Lady Harington. No place more ideal in location and no better guardians could have been found in England. Both Lord Harington and his wife possed much culture and refinement. They devoted themselves to their new task and their efforts were very successful. Elizabeth developed a girl of much charm and dignity. When she was returned to her parents at the age of fifteen, it was not long until she had numerous suitors. The Prince of Piedmont was among the first, but the Pope objected so strenuously to the marriage of a Catholic with a Protestant Princess that he was unsuccessful. Gustavus Adolphus, who was the next suitor, was an enemy of Christian IV, of Denmark, the King's brother-in-law, and he was likewise rejected. In December, 1611, an offer of marriage was made on behalf of Prince Frederick V. who had just

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1. Cf. I.3.416; I.3.445; I.3.456.

become Elector of the Palatinate. He was a young man of fine personal appearance and was at that time but sixteen years of age. Queen Anne was anxious to see Elizabeth married to King Philip of Spain, but this was opposed, first by the Prince of Wales and Salisbury and then by James himself. Accordingly in March 1612, a treaty of alliance with the princes of the German Protestant Union was concluded and ,on May 16, a marriage contract was signed between the Elector and the Princess Elizabeth.

That the time of "The Tempest" is autumn scarcely needs to be mentioned, so evident is it in the language and spirit of the masque itself. Iris summons Ceres from her rich harvest and bids the "sunburnt sicklemen of August weary" come to dance with the naiads. This fixes the time conclusively as early in September. This was the month when the negotiations were sufficiently advanced to allow the Elector to pay a visit to his affianced bride. The final articles of marriage were signed by direction of the King , November 17,1612, but the marriage itself was postponed until the fourteenth of February, 1613, on account of the death of Prince Henry, who had suddenly contracted what we now know was typhoid fever.1 We must observe, therefore, that the time indicated in the masque coincides with the date of the betrothal.

1.Gardiner, History of England, II. Chapter XV., Page 160.

When the Elector arrived in September, the enthusiasm of the people was unbounded and thousands welcomed him as he came to Whitehall. King James received him cordially and spared no expense to entertain him. The occasion was indeed such as to be considered most appropriate for the masque. We may, therefore suppose that Shakespeare was busy with "The Tempest" at this time, when on the sixth of November the Prince died, and all celebrations were at once postponed. If, as Dr. Liddell points out, we imagine him to have laid it aside and later to have retouched it for the festivities attending the wedding in February, we have an explanation of the form of the masque suited to the historical facts of the year 1612-1613.

As to the date of "The Tempest", we can place it definitely between 1610 and 1613. 1 There is no mention of it before 1613, and, by 1614, Jonson had considered Shakespeare an offender. In the introduction to "Bartholomew Fair", 1614, occurs the statement to which we refer, namely, "those that beget tales, tempests, and other drolleries". That the earliest date is 1610 we may be reasonably certain, for the story of the tempest that wrecked Sir George Somers's ship was not known in London until early in thatyear. The autumnal nature of the masque and the other evidences to be obtained in regard to the date of compo-

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1. Liddell, W.H.,The Tempest, Introduction.

sition point to the fall of 1612.

Before attempting to show the revision for the marriage, let us notice for a moment the contention that Beaumont wrote the masque. Fleay makes the assertion that "The Tempest" was acted before Prince Charles, the Palatine, and Lady Elizabeth in 1612-13, and that, at this time, it was probably abridged by Beaumont and the masque inserted. 1 That there is a striking similarity between "The Tempest" and Beaumont's "Masque of the Inner Temple", no one will dispute, but there are verses in the former that no one but Shakespeare could have written. Furthermore both antimasque and masque are so naturally linked with the action of the play as to make the possibility of interpolation entirely improbable.

There is much internal evidence that "The Tempest" was altered and played at court at the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth. The character of the masque is entirely autumnal until the introduction of Juno with her marriage blessing. That this was a conscious effort to make it suitable for the wedding will hardly be doubted. Shakespeare has used substantially the Juno Pronuba of Virgil and Ovid. In "The Aeneid" IV. is a passage showing very clearly how Juno was regarded in relation to marriage.

"Junoni ante omnes cui vincla jugalia curae."

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1. Fleay, Chronicle of English Drama, II.

This translated into English reads, To Juno, to whom above everything else the bonds of matrimony are a concern. Again in the same book occurs a similar reference:

"Dant signum prima et Tellus et Pronuba Juno".

This is translated, Both the earth and Juno who presides at marriages first gave the sign (for the marriage to take place). A like passage from Ovid's Heroides VI.43 shows that he also used Juno as the patron goddess of marriage.

"Non ego sum furto tibi cognita: Pronuba Juno
Affuit et sertis tempora vinctus Hymen".

This passage may be translated as follows: I was not married to you secretly. Juno, who presides at marriages, was present, and Hymen with his brows bound with flowers.

As court masque drew from classical writers its subject matter, Juno Pronuba should appear frequently in such performances. In Beaumont's "Masque of the Inner Temple",1613, she is so employed. There we are told that Jove gave her power to join "soft hearts in undissolved bands". She appears in much the same way as a character in many court masques in Shakespeare's time.

The introduction of the naiads was probably made when the play was altered for the wedding. Shakespeare uses them to represent the coming of spring, and their dance with the reapers suggests the union of autumn and spring. In the "Masque of the

Inner Temple", 1613, the naiads are represented as causing rainfall and the coming of plenty. They are there commanded to advance the "gentle floods" which make the valleys fruitful.

As previously stated, the betrothal was in September and the marriage in February. Autumn and spring are the seasons mentioned, the intervening winter receiving no mention. Here Shakespeare seems to have adopted the clever old Hebrew notion of the overlapping of seed time and harvest, thus covering the lapse of time between the engagement and the marriage. It was a dramatic necessity that the author should rearrange the play for the wedding, for every masque was supposed to be designed for a specific occasion. The following lines contain the idea to which we refer:

"Spring come to you at the farthest
In the very end of harvest".

These lines seem to have presented difficulties for the student of literature from the time of the earliest critics. Many different interpretations have been imposed upon them, most of which have entirely missed the point. Some have gone so far as say that the passage does not make good sense as it stands. Keightly suggests that the verb should be "shall come", but the present tense seems to be correct as written.1. It is probable

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1.The Variorum Shakespeare, The Tempest IV.1.136.

that Mrs. Kemble has offered the correct interpretation. The following statement of hers, taken from a gloss on the word spring, in the Variorum Shakespeare, makes the passage clear:

> "I think that the passage simply means that spring shall rapidly succeed autumn, leaving the dreary winter out of the calendar, a blessing Shakespeare has borrowed from that proclaimed to the Jews in that wonderful and awful chapter of promises and threats, the twenty-sixth of Leviticus: 'and your threshing shall reach unto the vintage, and the vintage shall reach unto the sowing time".

This is perhaps the oldest expression of this idea in Bible literature, but similar passages are commonin Hebrew writings. In Amos IX.13, we find the same happy idea of the succession of spring and autumn. For a careful explanation of this passage, we are indebted to Dr. Harper.1. Ploughing and reaping are represented as pressing so close upon each other that, before the sowing is entirely completed, the reaping must begin. An abundant vintage will keep laborers so busy that they cannot finish before the seed time, for the former begins in September and the latter after the October rains.

1.International Critical Commentary, Amos and Hosea, p.198-9.

In connection with this idea one should not fail to read Joel III 18, in which occurs a prophecy that Judah shall enjoy an abundance of milk and wine. This idea was prevalent even in Spenser's time. There is a fanciful description of continual spring in the Faerie Queen", which is so appropriate in this connection that we have ventured to quote it:

"There is continuall spring and harvest there
Continuall, both meeting at one time:
For both the boughes doe laughing blossoms bear
And with fresh colours decke the wanton Prime,
And eke attonce the heavy trees they clime,
Which seem to labour under their fruits lode,
The whiles the joyous birdes make their pastimes
Emongst the shady leaves, their sweet abode,
And their true loves without suspition tell abode."1

Again, to come nearer to the time of Shakespeare, the notion of a sort of golden age appears in Chapman's wedding masque, in 1613. We refer to the marriage blessing in the "Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn", which was given before the Elector and Princess Elizabeth during their wedding festivities. The blessings of the golden age were invoked to rest upon the

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1.Spenser, The Faerie Queene III.6.42.

nuptials. This old notion Shakespeare recognized as essential to his purpose and no one can say that he has not used it to good advantage. Thus it appears that the author of "The Tempest" has made a studied revision of the original betrothal masque, adding Juno Pronuba with her marriage blessing and heralding the coming of spring, the time of the wedding of the Princess and the Elector.

In the foregoing discussion, I have endeavored to trace briefly the history of the masque, with some attention to its development. This form of entertainment existed, under one name or another, side by side with the drama almost from the beginning of the latter till the close of the theaters in 1642. In the beginning it was little more than a dance with a dumb show, but it gradually took on new elements. Lydgate first added verses to accompany the performance, a feature which Ben Jonson, Campion, Chapman, Beaumont, and others advanced to much greater perfection, thereby giving the masque a literary significance. The occasion of its performance was generally the entertainment of the court, the coming of a noted guest, the celebration of a distinguished wedding, or some other event of unusual interest. The time of performance was usually during

the great religious holidays, but not infrequently on other dates, and the place of presentation the royal palaces, especially Whitehall. The cost of such magnificent entertainments was very large, almost exorbitant, a fact which contributed much to render the masque exclusively a court performance. The actors in the stately part were always of the nobility, but professionals from the theater were employed in the presentation of the antimasque.

I have also attempted to show that "The Tempest" is essentially a court play and the framework of a masque. The actors in the play refer to it in language used of masques and Shakespeare himself so characterizes it. The spectacular part conforms closely to the regular court masques so popular in the reign of James the First not only in structure, but also in action and subject-matter. "The Tempest" is apparently a piece d'occasion, celebrating a marriage and forecasting the prosperity and happiness of the bride and groom. Judging from its peculiar form and internal evidences, it was first written for a betrothal, which corresponded closely to that of the Princess Elizabeth, and reformed for the wedding. We hold this view in contrast to that of certain critics and editors of note. For example, Luce thinks "The Tempest" was not written specially

for the marriage, although he supposes that the play , if written earlier, might have been shortened for the occasion. "But it is pleasanter to put this marriage out of mind altogether, and to think that such a supreme work of art had higher motives than these courtly ones; and it is more plausible to believe that it stood nearer to the stirring events recorded in 1610."1 However, the weight of evidence shows that it was first played at court at the time of the marriage of the Elector and Elizabeth, and it seems reasonably certain that it was first designed specifically for the betrothal and subsequently retouched for their marriage.

1.Luce, Morton, The Works of Shakespeare, The Tempest.

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